166 When the king is dead, the abiru shave their heads, take off their bracelets, and put on a garment of sycamore bark. Then they choose eight Batutsi or Bahutu belonging to the families of the Abatsobe, the Abagunga, or the Abanyargona, who are in charge of the funeral (abanyamugogo, lit., man with the great log). The corpse is dressed as when the person was alive, rolled in a mat, and placed in an ingobyi (1) resting on a raised hurdle (urutara) set up in

1. Long, boat-shaped basket in which people of high quality are carried.

one of the huts of the royal boma (2).

2. In the past, on the death of the king, two noble Batutsi had their throats cut. This was called gusegurir Umwami (lit., to make the king's pillow). When the Umugabekazi died, two great Batutsi ladies were similarly killed.

For eight days the watchers keep a great fire burning under the hurdle in order to cure the corpse. To speed up the operation the corpse is turned over morning and evening, and to prevent the skin from splitting, the watchers anoint it with butter from time to time.

At dawn of the ninth day, the body is lifted by the watchers, accompanied by a few abiru, and hidden during the day in the rugo of a Munyarwanda. At nightfall, the small group sets out again. Traveling only at night, the funeral procession arrives at Rutare Hill, near Lake Mohasi, the end of the journey. The owner of each rugo, where the bearers have spent the day with the corpse, must drink the gihango (3), the absorption of which will inevitably kill him if he

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3. This gihango is different from the one in question in the blood pact, p. 13. It is a muddy drink in which medicinal herbs are mashed and mixed with wood ash and ash from the powder of the horn of a bull that has killed another bull. The Banyarwanda

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believe that this potion will kill whoever does not speak the truth or reveals a state secret (cf. also Procedure, pp. 104 and 105).

766 dared reveal what he had seen.

The summit of Rutare Hill is crowned with trees, [96] the remains of an ancient forest. The cemetery of the kings and queens can be found there. The abanyamugogo build a hut there, dig a grave, and bury the king and his weapons in it. The hut is closed with beams and surrounded by a thorny enclosure to keep wild ani-
[767] mals out. Quite near-by, the watchers build themselves dwellings where they live for two years and are fed during this time by the people of the neighborhood. Then they return home after going through Nyanza where they are showered with gifts. But the Mwami may not see them for he would die during the year if he caught sight of those who have watched over and carried his father's body. For the same reason the abiru who have accompanied them to Rutare may never return to the court of Nyanza. The belief also exists that from
[825] the right shoulder of the dead Mwami there issues a worm (urunyo) which, if placed in a pitcher of milk, will grow and become a leopard that kills only those who are wicked and unjust.

When the Mwami dies all work stops for eight days. For two months the bulls are removed from the herds and the king's children may not have any marital relations. Although they are under no obligation to do so, the Banyarwanda behave in the same way.

The death of the Umugabekazi [king's mother] calls for the same ceremonies and the same interdictions, but they are somewhat simplified.

9. Succession to the Throne

643 The king of Ruanda always belongs to the family of the
[644] Abanyiginya. His wives (1) are mostly chosen from the clans of the
[644]

1. The king may have four legitimate wives whose children are the only ones who, in theory, can succeed him; he can have as many concubines as he wishes.

Abega and the Abakono.

764 Massai and the Galla. (A. Werner, "The Galla of East Africa,"
171 Journal of the African Society, Vol. 13, 1914, p. 283; and No. 47, p. 159.)

764 [114] With the exception of executed criminals whose
[766] corpses are thrown into the bush for the hyenas to feed on, all Barundi are buried (kuhamba). Baumann reports that "the next of kin cut open the belly of those who have died in order to search for the evil charm responsible for the death" (No. 4, p. 222). I have not been able to confirm this either by my own investigations in the country itself, by van der Burgt, or others. The corpse is not washed but is put into the grave in its ordinary garments and with its amulets; at best it is wrapped in an old mat. No other funeral gifts are added. The burial takes place a few hours after death has occurred.

The grave (isjobo) is dug within the courtyard next to the fence or, if the dead person was the father of the family, in the center of the courtyard opposite the entrance to the main hut (No. 19, p. 203). However, according to O. Baumann, the grave is dug inside the hut itself (?) which is then abandoned. (No. 4, p. 223). While the corpse is being carried to the grave, the women once more set up a loud lament; they act as though they intended to prevent the burial, and they shout words of farewell to the deceased. If the dead person was the father of a family, the widow squats beside him before his burial, applies butter to his head, and speaks well of him so as to make his spirit look with favor on the members of the family. Then the corpse is placed in the grave which is padded with leaves; it is placed on its right side in a crouched position. Then the grave is filled with earth and a little sepulchral mound is formed on top upon which are placed various objects that the dead person used, for example, earthen vessels, old baskets, the plaited screen that covered the entrance to his hut, and other things. After a short time these objects are removed, the sepulchral mound is leveled, and nothing is left to indicate the site of the grave.

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than ●766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

[765] The mourning period for a mutwale lasts two to three weeks. However, the highest honors are paid to the dead king
766 (see p. 185 [not translated]). The corpse is first wrapped in
775 hides and barkcloth. It is not buried but dried over a smoking fire until it has become completely mummified. The first worm ("soul worm") that leaves the corpse is put into a milk pot and fed until one night it leaves the pot and turns into a giant snake (isato) in which the spirit (umusimu) of the dead king will reside from then on. The corpse is not embalmed.
766 The corpse of the king is not arranged in a crouched position as are those of the common Barundi; the arms and legs remain extended (No. 19, p. 204). In Ankole, however, the king's body is also put in a crouched position, wrapped in cowhide and buried (No. 27, p. 101). In Urundi the dead king is then put on a wooden trestle in the center of the homestead and left to lie in state until the feet of the trestle are eaten by termites. Under certain conditions this may take months. It is reported that King Kisabo lay in state in this way for an entire year. A local missionary told me that the deceased was
[588] even "married" to a young wife whose duty it was to take care of him and to provide him with food and pombe beer every day. During the entire period in which he lies in state the king's subjects gather from all corners of his realm; they pray to his spirit to win his favor, eat and drink in a festive funeral banquet beside his bier, and praise the deceased. Of course, the great ceremony of the "holy spear" is also performed. The
[765] official period of mourning for the king is one month. Finally, the mummy, accompanied by the medicine men and priests and followed by a wailing crowd of people, is carried away by the closest male relatives of the king. It is taken a distance of several days' journey to Ganso Mountain in the northwestern border mountains adjoining Ruanda, south of the source of the Ruvuvu River. The corpse is finally buried in a forest which may be entered only by the members of the royal family (Baganwa) and the priests. According to van der Burgt, however, it is not buried but simply laid to rest in a hut (see p. 186 [not translated]). The other Barundi kings have also been laid to rest there (No. 4, p. 223). On the other hand, van der Burgt writes

766 that the burial ground is a place called Wunjange close to Imanga Mountain (see p. 185 [not translated]).

Emin Pascha reports of the Bahima (Wahuma) of Unjoro
171 that in this region the corpse of the ruler is also smoked on a catafalque and preserved in his hut for many years until his successor finally buries him (Petermanns Mitteilungen, 1879, p. 392).

In Urundi the homestead of the dead king is abandoned
768 as are those of deceased batwale; it gradually disintegrates and only the trees that formerly formed the fence reveal to the traveler the former importance of the site. A guard inside a
775 hut placed next to it [116] sees that nobody enters the place
769 and that the spirit of the deceased king, which, as has already been mentioned, is usually pictured as a big snake living on the site (totemism, p. 102), regularly receives sacrificial offerings of food and drink (No. 19, p. 205).

Van der Burgt reports that in honor of the dead king "heca-
766 tombs of human victims" are sacrificed (No. 19, p. 204), and
661 that some batwale and influential Barundi are executed" in order to appease the manes of the king." This presumably refers mainly to those unfortunate people who immediately after the king's death fall as victims of the policy of his successor or of the pretender to the throne, as well as the alleged sorcerers and witches who caused the king's death -- for natural death is
[761] something the Barundi do not know -- and who are now hunted down by the medicine men and executed (see p. 132/140). In former times a few young girls and important men of the country were killed at the king's funeral in order to "accompany the deceased to the beyond" (see p. 186 [not translated]).

764 His relatives leave him victuals and a few utensils for the long trip to the netherland. They attend to his needs but ask him in return not to come and torment them. /57/ This is an ethnic custom which the Blacks observe with great faithfulness, so much so that if death occurs unbeknownst to them, they will do everything possible to bring the body to this crouching position. They will even use a cutting instrument to force the limbs into the desired posture. "To give the dead the shape of a basket (Gupfuny' upfuye nk' igitebo)" is the Runyaruanda expression used to describe this procedure. In so doing the Blacks believe that they are performing an act of filial reverence. It would be a lack of respect toward the dead not to fold their legs. "You bury your dead as straight and stiff as sticks," the pagans used to exclaim at first when they reproached Christians for no longer following the native customs.

The body is wrapped in a mat and tied in order to maintain the prescribed shape. The twine is cut only at the burial ground. The body is buried so that the face lies on its right side (1).

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1. The funeral rites practiced at the death of a Hamitic prince are totally different from those of the Bahutu. The royal corpse is mummified and dried under the action of fire. The undertakers who are in charge of this follow a complex and strange etiquette. Cf. Book IV, Chapter VII.

600 The dead of the Mousterian and Aurignacian eras were found buried in the sleeping position, with their face resting on the right side, while during the Magdalenian era the face of the dead rests on the left side. The Egyptians and Nasamon of Tripolitania proceeded approximately in the same manner.

"The body (of an Egyptian)," says Dr. Weisgerber, "usually lay on the left side (head to the south), with legs folded, knees brought up near the chest, hands on the face or neck. . . .

644 231 778 This animal is known by the name of Rusanga and lives with a few cows who bear the same designation, insanga (plural of Rusanga).

The bull is brought onto royal grounds from time to time, when sacrifices are performed, in its capacity as official representative of all the kingdom's cattle. Usually flanked by two cows, the bull is goaded forward by its keepers to the shelter consecrated to the spirits. [769 782] The king or the sorcerer who officiates in his name presents the animals to the royal ancestral spirits. "Here," he says, "are the herds which you have left us. We go on caring for them, and their numbers grow incessantly. Divert epizootic diseases from our cattle /357/ and spare us calamities of all kinds. Make events favorable to us, and the Europeans (who occupy the land) benevolent!" etc.

[773] In the mind of the Hamites, the observance of this rite is connected with the memory of Gihanga and his daughter Nyirarutchaba, who are credited with the introduction of cattle into Ruanda.

There is every reason to believe that in both practical and implicit fashion, the Batutsi honor thereby the memory of the Hamitic prince who actually introduced the first beeves into the country. The legend of Nyirarutchaba gradually replaced the historical event.

If one grants, on the other hand, that the Batutsi are descended from the Egyptians or from a related people, it should not be surprising to find certain vestiges of the Apis cult at the Ruanda court.

The existence of sacred herds called inyambo, and their presentation at important festivals may be interpreted in similar fashion. Their visit to the capital under the above-mentioned circumstances has the same meaning and the same sacrificial character.

Once the ceremony is completed, the animals are led back to pasture near the capital.

When the bull dies it must be replaced immediately with another. The selection which takes place is known under the name of "enthronement" or "new reign" (kwimika in Runyarwanda). This shows the importance of the event itself and the value attached to this curious tradition.

[262] Although the Banyarwanda are extremely fond of meat and even eat the corpses of animals, they are strictly forbidden to taste [766] the flesh of the sacred bull. The animal is buried, and so are the inyambo.

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1. A Munyarwanda would never pick up such accursed weapons, whose origin and function he knows only too well. The curse which is attached to them and the fear which they inspire cause him to go his way without a covetous glance.

In certain clans the purifier-sorcerer slips the scrapings into a sweet potato which he feeds to a goat. The latter is then sold to strangers faraway on whom falls the curse attached to the weapon which was used to commit the murder. The price of the animal, which was formerly paid in kind (hoes, peas, beans, sorghum, etc.) was renounced or thrown away. The victim's family considered that they were thus freeing themselves completely from the evil spell which befell them through the violent death of one of its members.

769 783 628 In order to pacify the spirit of the deceased, a young man of the kin group is chosen during the funeral ceremonies to avenge him. He must obtain a new /418/ spear which the purifier-sorcerer or his colleague, the "conjurer of spirits," takes from his hands in order to cut in two a plant with a mysterious property called irago or umurago. "I have 'cut up' the tribe of murderers," he says, "may they all die of it." Then, addressing himself to the deceased, "Here is the spear that will avenge you. Grant it the opportunity and the power to carry out the vendetta."

[766] According to customs peculiar to each clan, the body is exposed on a deserted hill, hidden far out in the bush in rocky crags, or buried near the village or even in the courtyard.

In the latter case, some irago, or if there is none some murago that grows in the swamps, is planted along with its roots. At the end of about a year, the sorcerer comes back to cut this plant /again/, as he did once before. Then a goat is sacrificed.

The purifier takes some of the blood of this offering and sprinkles it on the grave, saying, "Let this blood cause the entire family of the assassin to perish."

[i.e., of a murdered person. - Analyst]

Protectors against Lightning and Its Fearsome Consequences

791 They are known by the name of abagangahuzi (from the verb kugangahura). Their honorable and lucrative profession does not expose them to any danger.

Their role is to purify, as their name (umugangahuzi) and their duties (kugangahura) indicate, and to avert any future consequences of lightning. Here are the various circumstances in which sorcerers of this kind officiate and the manner in which they operate.

761 1. When a human being is struck down by lightning. According to /436/ native belief, lightning is regarded as the king of the 766 sky, who comes occasionally and chooses subjects among men. It is 821 said in such cases that the person who was struck is a "living tax" 791 (inkuke) levied by the god, or else a subject or a page of his (intore). As a consequence, laments are forbidden. So as not to displease the king of the sky, who may do as he pleases, the relatives and friends of the victim must dance and emit joyful cries while the drums are played.

766 The purifier-sorcerer then makes an appearance. Those 821 present receive from him, on the back of their hand, a few drops of 791 a liquid which they must allow to fall upon the ground. Then the sorcerer pours some for the second time in the palm of their hand, and each of the participants drinks what is given to him.

766 Then they inhale in turn the aroma of another liquid substance 821 (issubyo) made by the purifier.

The victim's hut and all people present are sprinkled with a mixture of water and chalk. The corpse also gets some on the forehead and chest. Then it becomes proper to lay out the corpse, which the relatives would not have dared to do prior to the sorcerer's intervention.

The guests put around their necks a special grass stem (umwishwa) which, as we have seen, plays an important role in ritual ceremonies as though it had a purifying property. The deceased also gets one, and the funeral procession sets out for the place where the body is to be exposed.

766 821 In principle, the corpse may not be buried. Whenever possible, it must be taken to a mountain, a hill, or some other elevated spot, to meet the king of the sky who chose to honor him (Yamukujije) by calling upon him. In the Gissaka province, the body is left on an old termite nest.

[152] Rejoicing is the rule for the duration of the ceremonies. The close relatives must join in this novel festival with /437/ dances and joyful cries in spite of their grief. If the deceased was a man, it is said that the king of the sky made him his chosen subject. If a woman 588 or young girl was involved, she was chosen as his wife. This belief 766 had become so ingrained that if the unfortunate woman recovered 821 she could not be taken in marriage by anyone but the king. In the more distant provinces, she was regarded as having actually become the wife of lightning. She was then treated as a widow or divorcée, that is to say, her "second marriage." (guchura) was carried out as simply as possible, without any of the ceremonies that go with the wedding (kulongora) of a young girl.

766 821 [824 783] Before leaving, the purifier-sorcerer stuck a ficus branch into the ground at the spot of the accident, along with a bough of red-blooming erythrina (umwuko), a reed, and a stalk each of ishoza, umurembe, ifubge, ilalire, urubamba, etc., to purify the spot and avert any future consequences.

821 231 791 796 2. The role of the purifier-sorcerer when domestic animals have been struck down by lightning. The corpses of the animals, cows, goats, sheep, are left on the spot. No one may touch them before the sorcerer arrives. If the accident occurred in the evening and his services could not be requisitioned in time, watchmen spend the night near the victims to guard them from hyenas and prowlers.

On the following morning at daybreak, people gather at the scene of the accident and beat drums as a sign of rejoicing. As in the preceding case, the sorcerer twice offers a liquid substance of his own making to each of the bystanders, and makes them inhale another.

Husbands must secure a few drops and bring them to the wives who remained at home. /438/ The bodies of the victims are also copiously sprinkled with it.

543 belonged, to the deceased monarchs. Then they danced in honor of
769 the "spirits" of dead kings on the grounds before the king's house. While moving about, they repeated in unison, "These are your treasures (intore), those that belonged to you. They are truly yours, those garments, those fabrics, those weapons, those beads, etc. It is in your name that we carry out these celebrations. We always remain your subjects, your lieges, your servants"....

(Tor' ibintu byawe, intore zawe; n' ibirori byawe, n'abagaragu bawe....) When the ceremony is over, the keepers of the treasure store the objects away until the following festival (1).

1. Among the original pieces included in the royal museum, there is the garment (inkindi) of the king of Urundi, Mutaga, who was killed in battle near Mwurire hill in the province of Bwana-Mkali. It is a hide, since no other garments were worn at that time, and it is altered almost beyond recognition in spite of the rancid butter with which it is constantly rubbed to preserve it. It is one of the rare trophies of victory that survived the fire caused by the Ruchunchu disaster. It is called by the name of ntizihishw' amabuno, that is to say, "that (garment) which is too short (for size)." The native expression is stronger and shows that the Banyarwanda wit never flags in situations tragic or comic.

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769 The festivals and celebrations are almost invariably of a sacrificial character in the sense that the ancestral spirits are commemorated and are offered gifts in a fictitious or even a real fashion, as we shall see in the pages that follow. We shall discuss funeral
766 customs or, more exactly, those that apply to the death of the king.

766 since in this restricted work we must try to limit ourselves, whenever possible, to the practices followed at the capital. The contrast will seem rather sharp, owing to the purely spatial proximity in these pages of the celebrations we have just described and the funeral rites observed at the death of a sovereign. To the Blacks, however, it would not seem so, in view of the constant contact they entertain with /514/ their dead and the participation they grant them in the life of the household (1).

1. Funeral ceremonies are very intricate, even for other members of society, and vary according to age, sex, the status of the individual, and the circumstances of his death.

They demonstrate the anxiety of the Banyarwanda to remain in contact with their dead, an anxiety inspired "by the belief in the power of those spirits, on whom health, prosperity, and life itself depend" .... (Levy-Bruhl, La Mentalité primitive /Primitive Mentality/, p. 76.)

Chapter 7

Funeral Rites. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves. Mummification of Corpses Under the Action of Fire. Honors Rendered to Ancestral Spirits. Hierogamies. Assignment of a Day of Rest in Memory of a Royal Prince.

I. Special Customs Observed at the Time of a Royal Funeral

In Ruanda the death of a king occasions intricate ceremonies,

766 including numerous regulations that seem to date from far back in the past. It appears that the Batutsi monarchs borrowed from the ancient autochthonous princes (abahinza) the majority of their funeral rites, and more especially mummification, or "smoking," since this is what it actually amounts to, as well as the choice of the resting place and the jealous care with which the royal cemeteries are guarded (2).

> 2. The royal cemeteries where the aboriginal Bahutu petty kings were buried are still to be found in many provinces of Ruanda and especially in the Kingogo. The Hamites borrowed other things from the vanquished and subjected autochthonous inhabitants. We have already seen that the drums at the capital recall the memory of the tiny principalities subjected by the Hamites and that they are regarded as trophies of victory and as guarantees for the preservation of the present kingdom. Those same instruments have retained their role and their importance among the Batutsi.

767 There follows a brief description of these matters as given by laymen, since the appointed royal undertakers (abanyamugogo) maintain the strictest silence on the subject. /515/

1. How a King Dies, According to Popular Belief

643 In Ruanda a monarch is such a superior and respected being that in the mind of most Bahutu he could not possibly be born, live, and die like the common run of men.

643 There must have been few kings who benevolently left this life of their own accord.

Popular belief has accepted too many fables on the subject. It was still said recently that Queen Mother Nyiramavugo, a grandmother of King Lwabugiri who must have died around 1860, was the first to refuse the poison when old age drew near in spite of the dictates of custom and tradition. "Since that day," say the common people, "the Abiru, or keepers of the customs, who are in charge of this task and duty have not dared mention it anymore to kings and queens."

2. The Corpse of the Royal Dead is "Smoked"

766 643 "When a king died," the same people go on, "two Batutsi from important families were seized and killed forthwith near the body." This was called "to make the king's pillow" (gusegurir' umwami). Those men were given to him to accompany and serve him in the spirit world.

[641] A subject counts for nothing while the king is all important. It is proper, therefore, to send him at least two men chosen from the highest social stratum.

"They did not dare observe this rite," add the narrators, "at the death of the last king, Lwabugiri (in 1895)." /517/

When a queen mother died, two great ladies of the same (Mututsi) /Batutsi/ race were sacrificed. It is the Banyamugogo, or [767] "men with the big (mourning) log," who are in charge of funeral ceremonies. They make up the royal corporation of undertakers, although their name does not indicate this outright. They are called "men with the big (mourning) log," owing to the custom which demands that a wooden log be burned for three or four days after the [824] death of an individual. For this purpose, one deliberately chooses a green log of red-bloom erythrina (umuko), a symbolic tree that recalls the death of Ryangombe, the alleged founder of the famous secret society of initiates (imandwa).

The body of the dead king is transported from his last home, [823] which will henceforth be called Gisozi ("Big hill") (1), to one of the

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1. This expression "big hill" is readily understood by the natives, because it serves to designate the spot where a reigning monarch drew his last breath.

sacred groves (2) reserved for royal tombs by custom or tradition.

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2. We owe the reader an explanation of the expression "sacred grove," which will recur frequently. The word "sacred" is taken here in a broad and technical sense to mean that these groves are set aside and closed to laymen, who may not enter them. They are guarded by official watchmen, who see to it that the grounds are properly respected.

The Banyamugogo, who become the temporary masters of the area, have a large hut built and enlist for its construction the services of neighboring people.

There the remains of the sovereign are sheltered and laid upon a grid in the middle of the hut, about 1.50 meters above ground. The members of the corporation keep a fire burning under the grid for several days in order to dry out the corpse and prevent it from putrefying.

The body, which lies on a bed of skins, is constantly moved so that the heat from the fire may reach all its parts. /518/

The keepers of the hut take turns without interruption, day and night, by the fire they must maintain. Meanwhile, no layman may come near the place under penalty of death.

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The undertakers keep up their work until, according to popular belief, the corpse gives birth to a leopard, which is at first

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only a small worm (1). Then a pit is dug in the same hut. The royal

1. Permit us to repeat once more that we are putting ourselves in the position of the natives. We are merely repeating their tales and beliefs.

remains are laid at the bottom of the tomb on a new bed of grass covered with precious skins: lion, leopard, and antelope hides.

The body is completely isolated from the ground, which must not soil it. The whole thing is covered with special mats (ibirago by' ibisunyu) made of lake reeds. Finally, the pit is filled up (2).

2. When a king named Yuhi ascends the throne, according to another popular belief, the undertakers have to perform another duty toward the deceased king in addition to what has already been said on the subject.

After having been smoked, the completely desiccated body (umwite) is carried to the sacred grove of Muhima, below Kigali. The pall bearers dig at the spot called Nyamvura ("the rain spot"), where there formerly existed an equally sacred spring, and lay the body in the hole for a moment.

This is called "giving the king a drink (guhira)."

Then the body is brought back to the royal cemetery. His

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successor may henceforth rule in peace, and abundance will reign in the realm, for the various formalities on which the prosperity of the land depends have been carried out.

3. Popular Beliefs Concerning the Survival of the King

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"The undertakers," the narrator goes on to say, "cannot leave the site of the grave yet.

"They are not permitted to leave it until the end of the mourning period, which lasts at least four months. The above-mentioned worm /519/ 'must' come out of the corpse's right hand after a while. It is immediately picked up by the keepers, who put it in a vessel full of milk.

"When the container becomes too small, the animal is put in a large jar into which milk is poured every day. The worm soon 'sprouts legs'; it will soon change shape. The jar is no longer adequate, and a tub (umuvule) is provided and also filled with milk. The thing becomes a leopard. It is still fed milk until the day when its carnivorous instincts awaken and it begins to use its claws. Then it is given fresh meat. It must be tied, for it has become 'mean' (irakaliha). The animal manages to break its first bonds, woven of banana-tree bark. It is tied with new ficus ropes, which are soon broken in turn.

"In order to chain the beast, a piece of wire (umukwege) is brought from the royal court (ibgami), where messengers keep going incessantly to report on the whole affair.

"The day comes when the wild beast wounds one of its keepers. Another one soon meets with the same fate, and a third dies of his wounds.

"The situation has become intolerable and cannot go on.

"The leopard, anxious to gain its freedom, grows fierce. Finally, permission is given to grant it freedom, thus releasing the Banyamugogo from an impossible task.

643 766 All work in the fields is strictly forbidden. The chiefs were in charge of this, and in order to show their zeal they would not have hesitated to kill on the spot any wretch who would have gone so far as to violate custom. If the fields were already plowed, one might [689] at best sow the seeds or plant the seedlings, but the hoe could not be used.

[731] A stick had to be used to dig up sweet potatoes from the ground. It is not overly surprising to hear that sometimes, in the past, famine resulted from this forced period of cessation of work.

II. Royal Tombs and Sacred Groves (Cemeteries and Former Capitals)

1. Origin and Constitution of the Sacred Groves

● 766 778 Afther the death of a king, as we have said, his body is taken into one of the sacred groves where a large hut is built to shelter the remains and to mummify them by desiccated prior to burial.

A courtyard is also built, enclosed with ficus branches which soon take root and which later give rise to a new thicket. Once the job of smoking is completed, the keepers of the hut bury what is left of the body inside the dwelling.

They remain there for some time afterward to prevent any desecration which they believe might still be committed. When the four months of mourning are over, the house is abandoned and the door is carefully barricaded on the outside.

The hut will stand for three, four, or even five years, /523/ and will eventually fall to pieces with age without anyone worrying about it. Before they leave, the royal undertakers plant inside the courtyard a branch of erythrina (umwuko) in honor of Ryangombe, [824] the alleged founder of the secret society of initiates (imandwa), and a ficus (umuvumu) branch to recall the majesty of kingship (ngo n' umwami) by the height of its trunk and the span of its branches and leaves. The funeral grove is henceforth created or, if it already existed, a further unit is added, which in time will be one with the others.

766 778 The sacred groves are numerous, and it is surprising to find them most everywhere, even in the most deserted areas.

Royal cemeteries and former residences are legion. There is 778 not one province in Ruanda that does not boast several of them at least.

766 They are found even in bordering lands which were invaded 644 more than once by the Banyarwanda. Their numbers are understandable if one recalls the nomadic life of the warrior kings such as Ruganzu and Lwabugiri, who did not sleep often under the same roof. The sovereign had only to spend the night in a hut along the way for the spot to become sacred from then on. The owners had to abandon their dwelling and go elsewhere or build at the side. The ficus branches which fenced in the courtyard went on growing and created a new sacred grove (ikigabiro).

These groves are made up of various tree species, with the [894] ficus usually predominating. Several types of this tree are found: imigobge, imilehe, imikobe, imitabataba, etc.

[287] The bark of the last two trees is used to make a kind of cloth which wears out rapidly (impuzu). Those clumps of trees, which are almost invariably green and which loom into sight here and there, contrast with the bareness of the land, /524/ especially in the Nduga, and lend it a characteristic appearance which does not lack a certain charm.

Among the sacred groves, some of which stand on the tallest hills, only eight or nine at most are known to have been used as royal burial grounds. The others mark the sites of former royal capitals and recall the successive moves occasioned by the numerous expeditions undertaken in certain reigns. They are referred to by the generic name of ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," from the word kugabira, "to distribute" or "to offer as a gift." As we can see, the term ibigabiro, or "places of distribution," is quite suited etymologically to the tree clumps which mark the sites of the former royal dwellings, whose owners, by virtue of their absolute ownership and power, could mete out all sorts of favors to their subjects. It was only by extension that the same name was quite wrongly applied to the royal cemeteries. Indeed, custom does not allow the po[illegible]lar

778 and common terms ikibira, "cemetery," imva or "igituro, "grave," 766 to be used in this connection. In certain parts of Ruanda, owing to 644 the respect with which the king is regarded and to the reverential fear he inspires, the Blacks use another expression which is much more accurate. One frequently hears them speak of musezero (misezero in the plural), that is to say, the place where the monarch permanently "took leave" of his subjects, from the verb gusezera, which means "to take leave."

The word umusezero is now commonly used to mean "restricted place," "guarded place," because in summer when people set fire to the tall grass, they first clear the bush from the edges of the cemeteries to protect the royal graves from fire. /525/

2. Main Royal Cemeteries

766 It is at Gasseke in the Nduga, about four hours from the Kabgayi mission in the northeast, that one of the first "sepulchral" groves is found where a prince by the name of Chyilima was buried.

173 Two monarchs by this name are known. It was during the reign of the more recent of the two that the famous migration into 643 Ruanda of the "Mutes," or "Foreign men with an incomprehensible 766 language," took place. According to tradition, the one with whom 778 we are dealing here was the brother and immediate successor of Ruganzu I, surnamed Bwimba (1), who lived long before his illustrious

1. The natives relate that the mother of this Ruganzu late in life married one of her courtiers named Chenge, and Chyilima-Rugwe was born of this union. She did this to the great dissatisfaction of her eldest son, Ruganzu I, for it ran contrary to the custom which requires the queen mother to live solely with the reigning prince.

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The same legend adds that Ruganzu-Bwimba, considering himself dishonored, took advantage of a war in Urundi to throw himself into the midst of his enemies, and there met his death.

namesake.

To distinguish him from the other Chyilima, posterity gave the one buried at Gasseke the surname of Rugwe, which means "leopard," [775] because the leopard into whose body he is said to have transmigrated after his death is still believed to inhabit the dense thicket which has grown around his tomb. This is why sacrifices are offered there almost constantly, and the appointed keeper of the place often beats a drum there. Some say that King Chyilima ruled only for a few months, others that he reigned but a few days. Hence the incessant honors meant to ingratiate his spirit... and his voracious alter ego.

Some add that people behave in this manner toward him owing to his unfortunate death, in order to appease his anger and grief (agahinda gashire).

He was driven back from the west where he had been waging war, and his enemies pursued him all the way to Gasseke. /526/

Mortally wounded by one of their spears, he managed to hide in the bushes where he soon died of his wounds, forsaken by his own people. Several months went by without anyone hearing about him.

One fine day some herdsmen discovered his body (umurangara), which was completely dried up. They announced the news at the capital and claimed a reward.

They were encouraged to express their wishes and obtained the [233] privilege of letting their herds graze with impunity on other people's crops in the summertime, when grass is lacking. Whatever the origin of this strange favor may be, it is a fact that until the European penetration the Batutsi and their cowherds did not hesitate to use it and abuse it, at the expense of the unfortunate Bahutu who could do nothing about it...

173 643 766 778 As for the royal cemetery of Luhanga, which lies atop the plateau of the same name, the inhabitants of the area all concur in the belief that if King Gihanga himself was not buried there, that is to say, the eminent "Creator," then at least his wife Nyirakabogo was. It is probable that numerous other monarchs sleep their last sleep there by the queen's side, but the people are not quite sure of their names anymore.

Nor are they sure of the names of those who were buried on the neighboring Kayenzi-Bussigi plateau, where four of those cemeteries are to be found.

The names of the princes buried in the northern most cemetery are better known. The inhabitants of the area are almost unanimous in naming Kigeri-Mibambge and Nyiramavugo as being buried there. During the last European war, which had local repercussions, the natives were rightly frightened and erected huts (indaro) over their tombs where they offered numerous sacrifices. As for Queen Nyiramavugo, the elders recall seeing her corpse go by in their earliest childhood. /527/ The body was laid at the foot of the plateau for the night before being carried to the top where it was buried. This was the mother of Lwogera-Mutara, that is to say, the grandmother of the present king.

Malembo, daughter of Nyamajinya and mother of Yuhi-Mazimpaka, was buried on one or the other of the two plateaus, it is not known exactly which. One still hears of Yuhi-Mazimpaka himself and of a sister of Ruganzu, Nyirangabo, who, according to the natives, were buried in the afore-mentioned cemeteries. What is certain is that the grove which follows upon the first one starting from the north holds the remains of Kilongoro, daughter of a certain Magoma and mother of Chyilima-Ludjugira, who succeeded Yuhi-Mazimpaka.

According to present-day opinion, the sacred groves of Luhanga and Kayenzi-Bussigi are reserved exclusively for the burial of queen mothers (abanyambuto, "those of the grains"), that is to say, [562] those who provided the heir to the throne and who reigned along with him.

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The best known of the royal cemeteries is that of Rutare in the mountainous Buyaga area, not far from Lake Mohazi near the frontier of Ruanda.

The existence of this resting place is traced back, rightly or wrongly, to Ruganzu II, who is said to have been the first one to be buried there.

According to one tradition, he had himself chosen the site of his tomb on this high spot, so as to be an insuperable obstacle to the enemies of Ruanda even after his death. This tradition is seriously challenged by the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga (1).

1. Cf. Book III, The Reign of Ruganzu II.

The last two kings who were buried there and who are recalled most readily were Lwogera and Lwabugiri, the immediate predecessors of the present reigning monarch.

It is rather difficult to say for how many monarchs the sepulchral grove of Rutare has served as last resting place. /528/ The trees in the thickets, some of which are quite old, were formerly separate but eventually merged. Here and there, old trunks which marked the site of the courtyards in which the huts were built have disappeared, so that one cannot count the funerery enclosures with any exactitude. There do not seem to be more than eight or ten.

Three other royal cemeteries are found at Musenyi in the Nduga to the south of the Kabgayi mission, about two hours away. The first one stands on the slope of a hill called by the name of Mayebe. It is made up of a small wood of thorny acacia trees which have reached their maximum height and whose long intertwined branches lend a mysterious atmosphere to the grove, where a half light barely penetrates. Some other trees with thicker foliage dominate the grove. Those are the inganzamarombo (1).

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1. They are called thus from kuganza, "to overtop," and marombo, "swarms of bees," because the natives like to set their hives there.

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A native village stands nearby, its banana groves bordering on the thickets. Its occupants are in charge of watching over the cemetery, which according to the opinion of the Banya-Nduga (inhabitants of the Nduga province) includes the tomb of Ruganzu II Ndori. Those who claim that his body was buried at Rutare cling to their opinion and insist that he was merely "smoked" at Mayebe. The inhabitants of the latter area, on the other hand, claim in turn that after having been mummified he was indeed buried right there, and add that this is the usual procedure. The place is quite commonly known by the name of "Ruganzu's cemetery."

According to the same interpretation, this prince alone was buried there.

Not far from Mayebe, two other small groves made up chiefly of ficus trees stand barely 300 meters apart. /529/ According to some, the corpses of several queens by the name of Nyirakigeri and Nyirayuhi were mummified there. Local people insist that they were also buried there, and support their claim by adding that the place where a king or queen is smoked is also the place where they are buried. The two clumps of trees formerly made up a single sacred grove, and this is why the natives call them by the same name.

The last of those cemeteries stands two kilometers farther. It is made up of handsome ficus trees, but the same controversies arise concerning the use to which this funeral site was put. It is called "the cemetery of the queens who bore the name of Nyiramavugo."

[123] It is not easy to give precise information on this subject. The keepers of the groves, the undertakers (abanyamugogo), and the official chroniclers (Abachur' ubgenge) are not willing to surrender all their information on the subject. The statements of other people are unreliable.

Funerary enclosures called ilaro (amalaro in the plural), or "night stopping places," are also found in the area.

They mark the sites of huts which served as shelters for the mortal remains of kings and queens in transit to the cemeteries.

The dwellings had to be abandoned after their visit, just as happens when a prince travelling through his realm stops for the night.

173 The term gisozi ("big hill") serves, as we have said, to
643 designate the place where a king died.

It is the augmentative of the word musozi, which means "hill"
766 and by extension "village." This term belongs to the /word/ class
778 prefixed by the consonant ki.

This class includes nothing but words conveying the idea of majesty, fear, etc. /530/

There are numerous groves in this category, such as those of Kigali, Musumba, Kaganza, etc.

In order to prove the truth of any pronouncement or assertion, the natives use the following phrase which alludes in metaphorical terms to the death of one or another of their sovereigns, Mb' ali jye wakuye
[539] Lwogera i Kaganza!

"Let it be I ('if I do not speak the truth' being implied here) who tore (King) Lwogera away from Kaganza (name of the place where the king died)!"

The reader must have noted that kings and queen mothers
[644] alone have been mentioned in the preceding pages. Mere wives were entitled to no special honors after their death. They were buried like common mortals. Queen mothers, that is to say, those who bore the heir to the throne and then reigned with him, were granted the same funerary honors as sovereigns.

Aside from the groves we have just described, there is also
173 mention of one at Bugarama-Ntare (i Buhurura) not far from Rukoma.
644 It is believed to be the spot where the undertakers fulfilled their usual
766 functions at the death of a queen named Nyirakigeri. The sacred
778 grove of Butare, which now only includes a few very old trees, is thought to be the place where Nyagihaga, daughter of Ruyenzi and mother of a Chyilima or Mutara died (1).

1. The official chroniclers do provide a genealogical list of the kings of Ruanda, with the name of their mothers and of the clans to which the latter belonged, but this cannot be fully credited. We have

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seen that the names of the
first kings were pure fantasy.
The chronological order of
several others is lacking,
and the chroniclers do not agree
on the affiliation of these princes.

Kaganza hill, not far from Musenyi, is thought to have been the scene of the death of Nyiramavugo, mother of Lwogera-Mutara.

When her hair began to turn white she refused to drink /531/ the traditional poison that was to bring her life to a close. King Lwogera-Mutara referred the matter to his maternal uncle, Nyamushanja, who had her strangled. She was mummified at Musenyi and buried on the Kayenzi plateau.

3. Watching of the Cemeteries and the Honors Rendered to the Spirits of the Royal Dead

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a. Watching of the royal cemeteries. Entrance to the cemeteries was strictly forbidden to laymen, who could not even come near them, as if their presence were a defilement or a profanation.

Not so long ago, at Rutare the keepers in charge of watching over the royal tombs still found it convenient to pillage and even kill the travelers who had the misfortune to wander into their neighborhood.

The functions of the keepers of royal cemeteries are almost invariably exercised by members of the Abiru or Abatsobe tribe, with whom they are identified. In summer when the tall grasses, are set afire, they must see to it that the flames do not reach the restricted enclosures.

In principle it is strictly forbidden to cut wood there, and one may never go in with an axe.

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The keepers and the neighbors seem to have eased up a little on this rule over the last few years. Since the dead wood they were permitted to use no longer met their needs, they began to attack the

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Since it was impossible to escape, Chief Seruteganya set fire to himself (aritwika), the queen mother, and his two sons, Mulangire and Sebugigi.

Another tradition adds that Lwabugiri wanted to spare his mother, but that as she attempted to escape she was murdered by one of the sons of her second husband.

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[609] The king treats other dead members of his family with the same solicitude. He follows the same line of behavior toward people who are complete strangers to him but whose wrath he fears. Musinga has already caused propitiatory victims to be offered several times to Kabale, his maternal uncle, who died in 1912. In order to pacify his spirit more effectively, the sacrifices took place at Mbuye, in one of the favorite former dwellings of the powerful minister. Karara, one of the many blood brothers of the present king, who died at Ruchunchu, was granted the same honors when he showed signs of discontent.

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791 As a result of this belief that the dead may do harm to the living, a group of sorcerers arose to whom the king resorts when an important political prisoner is executed. Those sorcerers are called "exhumers" or "mutilators of cadavers" (ababūzi), a word derived from the verb kwabūra, "to exhume a cadaver," for no sooner is the condemned man dead than they cut off his little right finger (umuhèra) and his little right toe (akajanja). They also take strips of flesh from the body of the victim, who henceforth will be unable to do any harm. The aim of this posthumous mutilation is called urukagiro, meaning "obstacle," "hindrance" (from the verb gukagira, "to hinder").

Sorcerers in this category handle those human strips at some length and finally bury them in an anthill hole (umulerajuru). /534/

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[775] c. Special honors rendered to dead kings, or hierogamies. The Blacks are convinced that the spirits of the dead retain their hatreds and passions. To humor them, therefore, is to the best advantage of the living. The means used to this end are of course

764 grave is dug so deep that the gravedigger's head is not visible when he is standing in it. Only those who have been killed are laid to rest in caves. In Bugoye people who have died at home of an illness or of old age are buried near the house. People who have died suddenly or have been killed are simply abandoned or thrown into the bushes. People who have died in an epidemic or of starvation are also abandoned.

The corpses left in swamps are devoured by animals. In contrast to this, care is taken that buried corpses are not dug up, and to prevent this, the grave is covered with banana stalks and thorns.

765 The deceased is mourned for four days. On the fourth day the members of his family remove their bracelets and shave their heads for four moons. If a wife dies, only the girls remove their jewelry; the men merely shave their heads. After four months the masunzu, the shaved patterns, are allowed to grow again.

In Bugoye and Nduga, it is said that a stick (kasongera) is broken above the hut of a woman who has become a widow. This probably symbolizes the absent phallus.

764 The abandonment of the corpse which is customary in Nduga is probably related to the Batutsi element. The Bahutu of Mulera bury their dead, like the Bantu of the neighboring Congo Basin. There is an inexplicable contrast between the neglect of the dead and the death cult. Could this neglect perhaps facilitate the

[765] transformation into an animal? The members of royal families of Ruanda and Urundi are [232] said to turn into leopards after their death, just as the ruling family of Kiziba, like the Massai, turn into snakes.

●766 643 According to Father Van der Burgt (1), the corpse of the king

1. Van der Burgt, Father J.M.M., Dictionnaire Français-Kirundi avec l'Indication succincte de la Signification Swahili et Allemande [French-Kirundi Dictionary with short definitions in Swahili and German.] (Bois-le-Duc, Holland, 1903), p. 204.

766 643 [782] of Urundi is dried and stretched out on a four-legged frame to be worshipped. It is exposed until the frame is eaten by termites and collapses. Only then is the corpse wrapped up and buried at the same spot while many human sacrifices are made. The bodies of Ruanda kings, on the other hand, are dessicated by fire, whereupon the frame on which they lie and the entire hut are reduced to ashes. The death by fire of an entire family in its hut is said to be a favorite method of suicide among the Batutsi.

765 In conclusion we must mention an observation of Dr. Kandt (2):

2. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 476.

"The Wanjaruanda, a tribe living deep in the interior without any contact with Western ideas, say 'ukwirabura (to be black)' when they mean 'to be in mourning.' They say, 'ukwera (to be white)' when they mean 'the period of mourning is past.' This is all the more strange since the two colors in no way appear in dress, decoration, etc., to indicate mourning or the cessation of mourning."

Chapter 11

The Clan

614 Protection of the Individual. The basis of social organization in Ruanda as well as in the other parts of the interlacustrine region is the clan or blood relationship which is here known as umuryango.

The clan represents a society whose membership is replenished by natural increase, for every child belongs to its father's clan. As a result, every clan is actually a union of families closely or distantly related on the male side. Outsiders are admitted to the clan only in exceptional cases. This happens in Mulera, for example, when a family has only daughters and no sons. Since the [597] lack of male descendants would weaken the fighting force of the clan, families adopt sons-in-law as a precaution. In such cases the children are said to belong to their mother's clan and not to that of their father who in this way relinquishes the interests of his relatives.

643 The king has authority in matters pertaining to the cult. For
656 example, in 1906 he forbade old women to smoke tobacco. This command was scrupulously observed, for people were afraid that those who did not comply would die. The pipes were placed on the hilltops where they were still to be seen at the time of my journey (1907).

644 At the court of the king a fire is always kept burning by
372 Batwa. Eight or nine months before my arrival in Nyanza the fire
687 went out as a result of the carelessness of the watchmen, and they
778 had to forfeit their lives for it. The sacred fire is also said to be kept burning in Kiziba, but there it has to be brought anew each year from the Sese Islands.

766 The ordinary verb "to die" can not be applied to the king.
643 After his death the king is not buried but mummified over the fire. When the body is completely dessicated, it is burned along
775 with his hut, so not a trace remains. The kings are said to live on as leopards after death.

643 A son of the deceased king is his successor. He need not be
578 the eldest, nor is he, as a rule. The uncertainty concerning the successor to the throne causes internal strife in Ruanda, laying the country open to attacks from the outside in the interval between the death of the old king and the establishment of the new ruler.

643 There are, however, some regulations which eliminate certain categories of royal sons from the list of pretenders. Thus, a man dedicated to Ryangombe is said to be incapable of "eating the drum" (becoming king). This is said to have been the case with Ishirangabo, for example, the brother of Musinga who, in his day, guided Lieutenant Count Von Götzen. The princes whose mothers have died are also reputedly unable to "eat the drum."

[256] As a result of this situation, children are often appointed kings with an uncle or brother of the queen mother as regent. This happened to Musinga, for example, whose uncle Kabare for a time exercised the ruling power in his stead.

643 When he begins his reign, the new king and his mother as well
551 change their names. Thus, Musinga became Juhi Musinga, and his
644 mother, Kanzogera became Nyina Juhi. The queen mother and the regent are given all the honors of a king during the king's minority.

643 Another thing that reduces the number of pretenders -- this
644 weakest aspect of the African state -- is the limited number of sons

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

762 When a man committed suicide, he was buried as usual;
766 but a medicine-man was summoned to tell by augury whether
787 the house had to be deserted or was still fit to live in.

RELIGION

773 I received a statement respecting the religion of the Batuse
[115] from Captain Phillips, the District Commissioner. They were,
[776] he said, monotheistic and had a chief priest who was initiated into his office by a journey up a certain mountain where there
[778] was said to be a flock of sheep sacred to the god. This was a
[782] dangerous exploit, but before a man was accepted as priest he had to go there with a sheep, which he offered to the god.

This chief priest kept all the fetishes and carried out all religious observances for the king, who kept neither fetishes nor priests about him. When there was any illness or other trouble, the king sent a bull, a sheep, or a fowl (in the case of
[787] war, a bull, a ram, or a cock) to the priest, and an augury was taken from the flow of blood and from the markings on the lungs and intestines.

CHAPTER XXIX

THE KING

The kings of Ruanda—government and taxation by the king—food of the king—wives of the king—heir to the king—death of the king—mourning—burial—accession—the king's mother and her brother

643 THE list of the kings of Ruanda was given as follows: Kigwa,
173 who came from heaven—his son, Kimanuke, who begat Randa — Merano — Kobo — Gihanga — Kalyaruanda — Ruganza — Kirimu — Kigeri — Mutabazi — Gahima — Ndahiru — Ndole — Muhenzi — Namuhesera — Sekalongoro — Huhi — Kirima — Ndabalasa — Mubamwhe — Gahiridirwa — Lwogera — Lwabugiri — Lutariridwa, who was killed by his brother Musinga, who still reigns.

692 The king's court was the court of appeal for all his subjects
645 and his council was composed of the high chiefs.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

and his council was composed of the high chiefs. He imposed taxation of honey, millet, peas, beans, cattle, and milk, and the chiefs were responsible for any building or other state work he required.

The king's first meal in the morning was of milk, which he took either fresh or clotted as he preferred. At noon he generally drank beer, but he took no other food until evening, when he had meat with peas, beans, or millet porridge, but he might never eat sweet potatoes. After this meal he drank either beer or milk, which shows that the people were abandoning the strict rules of the milk diet which would have forbidden his drinking milk immediately after eating meat and vegetables. During the night he was roused and offered milk to drink. The favourite wife waited upon him and ate with him, and special boy attendants ate any meat that was left over from his meal.

The king married as many wives as he wished, suitable girls being added to his harem as they were found. The favourite of the moment was treated as the chief wife. These women were continually consulting medicine-men and priests, who told them whether they were going to bear children and took auguries to decide who would be the mother of the future king. The king often chose a prince to succeed him, and when he grew up informed him of his future and made him a partner with him on the throne. The other princes were sent to govern different parts of the country as chiefs.

When the king felt that he was seriously ill, he ended his life by taking poison. When he died the news was circulated over the country. There was no rule against naming the king after his death nor against saying that he was dead. The whole tribe shaved their heads and all men kept apart from women during the two months of mourning. The males of cows, goats, and sheep were also separated from their females for this time, and the udders of cows, after milking, were smeared with ashes instead of with white clay as was usual at other times. One cow was killed when the king died.

A certain district was reserved for the burial of the kings,

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

643 and each king had a hill kept for his grave alone. On this a
766 large house was built and the grave was dug inside it; servants were selected to look after the tomb, and cows were dedicated to the dead king. The hill was thereafter looked upon as sacred and no king would walk upon the hill where a predecessor lay buried. Though only one cow was killed for
[782] the king at his death, two or three hundred were sacrificed at the end of the mourning.

643 The king usually stated which son was to reign in his stead
721 and if possible his wishes were respected; but if he had made no appointment, the chiefs chose a prince to be their new king. If in this case any brother prince objected, the two princes went to war until one or the other was killed.

644 The king's mother and her brother acted as advisors to the
766 king. A special district about four miles from the tombs of the kings was reserved for the burial place of the kings' mothers.

CHAPTER XXX

LIFE AND OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE

Food—serving meat—entertainment of visitors—fire—the cattle—care of the cows—value of cows—birth of calves—goats, sheep, and bees—agriculture—growing millet—drums—dances—adoption—slaves and servants

Food

262 THE Batuse were not so dependent upon milk as were the
234 cow-people of Ankole, but it formed an important part of their diet. When a man rose in the morning, his wives or
[302] servants brought butter and anointed him, rubbing it well into the skin. They then gave him as much milk as he could drink and he took no solid food till evening. At noon he might drink beer or milk, after which he usually slept for a time. In the evening, however, he had a meal of meat and plantain or millet porridge, and after it he might drink milk again.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

428 his heir, the king or his clan appointed someone to inherit his property.

764 When a man died, all ornaments and clothing, with the exception of a loin-cloth, were removed, his legs were bent up into the squatting posture, and his head was shaved. A cow was brought to the bedside, a little hair from it was put in the right hand of the dead man and a little milk milked over it. This hand with the hair in it was then placed under the head.

In the case of an ordinary man, the grave was dug by the relatives or servants in the garden near, or, should he have no land, in some secluded spot, and the body was buried there.

●766 Should he, however, be a wealthy man, the grave was dug big enough for a bedstead to be placed in it. This was covered with skins, on which the body, wrapped in mats, was laid and covered with skins of wild animals and cows. A second bedstead was placed on top of the first to keep the earth from the body, and the grave was filled up with earth, which was piled into a mound over it. The weapons of a dead man were put on his grave, and in the case of a woman her flour basket was buried with her.

764 A hut without any doorway was built over the grave and a growing fence planted round it. There was always the fear that someone might disturb the dead by digging up the body for the purpose of working magic, and the heir was therefore responsible for keeping this fence in repair until it had grown big enough to keep off people and cattle, after which no further attention was paid to it. After the burial all the people who took part in it were given hot water to wash their hands before leaving for their own homes.

765 A cow was brought and killed by the grave after the burial and was cooked and eaten by the mourners. The skin was dressed and worn as mourning by the heir, or by some favourite child of the dead man, for two months, during which time he might not come into the presence of the king. The mourners might neither wash nor shave. They lived together in one house, avoided all other people, and had to be strictly chaste lest they should incur the ghost's displeasure.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

probably a little less than a third. For tribute labour, the hill-chief handed over to the residence the number of labourers requested but could have the others to work for himself.

According to respectively 92 and 91 per cent. of the Tutsi interviewed, neither the hill-chief nor the cattle-chief could deduct similar proportions from cattle dues. I have been told, however, that the cattle-chief required from the hill-chief more jars than the royal residence asked. It is very likely that the hill-chief imposed a similar obligation on those who had to bring the milk.

The land-chief acted as judge in disputes about rights over land between Hutu of his district.

Some places were not integrated into the district organization and were free from the cattle- and land-chief interferences. They were the domains belonging to *biru* and the royal funeral grounds. Biru, as we shall see later, were very important people keeping the secret traditions according to which the order of succession of the kings was determined, the ritual to be used in wars, the measures to be taken in times of famine, &c. In their privileged domains biru enjoyed powers similar to those of the king over Ruanda. 76 per cent. of our informants mention the name of a hill ruled by one mwiru (singular of biru) and 79 per cent. affirm that these domains were completely independent of the administrative chiefs.

The other privileged hills were those on which the royal corpses were laid. As the dead body of the king was believed to undergo different metamorphoses, it was not immediately buried, but mummified and left for a certain time in a wood, on the top of a hill. The corpse was watched by some chiefs and servants and finally buried. Even now 88 per cent. of our informants can mention the name of such a hill where a royal cemetery is to be found. One of the more renowned places is Rutare, not far from Kigali, which is mentioned by 71 per cent. 84 per cent. said that these hills were exempted from any tribute to the district residence.

3. ANALYSIS OF THE ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Analysis of the different structures described here will be made from the point of view of the social function of these institutions. Social function is understood here as the contribution made by an institution, an association or a cultural trait to the working and the maintenance of a particular social structure. The contribution may

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564 Twa. A pygmoid people, the Twa constitute less than 1·5 per cent
565 of the population. Potters and hunters in the process of becoming farmers, the Twa are pariahs, excluded almost completely from social relations with all the other Rundi and detested by them.[8] With ill grace, the Rundi grant that the Twakazi are excellent dancers and that people need the pots that they make.

564 It is by now evident that the Rundi are somewhat sensitive to
613 differences of rank, but we have by no means exhausted the social distinctions they make. Within each caste there are *abaryango*, patrilineages (literally, "doors"), which are arranged in hierarchical order, more or less as social classes. Distinctions are made among patrilineages which are called very good, good, neither good nor bad, and bad. Thus, a Tutsi of a very good patrilineage is the social superior of a Tutsi in a patrilineage that is merely good or neither
[583] good nor bad. The former expects to receive a dowry of at least four cows for his daughter, whereas the others must be satisfied with one. Hutu or Hutukazi of good patrilineages are clearly superior to the other Hutu, and a well-born Twa looks upon the other Twa as his social inferiors. Men and women together at the higher levels are superior to those, both men and women, of the inferior levels, although within each class, the men are superior to the women, and, as a general rule, the older are superior to the
[554 younger. Taken altogether, to the childless youngest daughter of
643] one of the bad patrilineages of the Twa, every Rundi without exception is the superior, and every Rundi is inferior to the *mwami*.

562 Although a woman's caste remains unchanged throughout her
564 life, her definitive place in society is determined by her marriage. In
644 general, fathers seek spouses for their children from their own
582 caste and class. However, the *mwami* and the more important
613 *baganwa* take their wives from among a dozen of the very good
643 Tutsi patrilineages. The Tutsikazi of these patrilineages, through such marriages, move up in the social hierarchy. They will be the mothers of princes. The one who becomes the *mwamikazi*, the queen-mother, will be the most important woman in the country, the superior of most Rundi men. She will receive substantial presents and much respect, and she will have considerable influence
[766] in the affairs of the kingdom. After death, she will have special funeral rites and will be buried in a cemetery reserved for the remains of the queen-mothers. Although almost any woman of a very good Tutsi patrilineage may be called a *mwamikazi*, it is only
562 a figurative way of saying that she is well born. The status of women
582 born in the royal and princely patrilineages is somewhat ambigu-
613 ous. They will be married by Tutsi of the patrilineages that supply